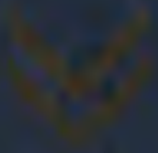
Why We Fought



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To

Mr. Keith

Thomas H. Chamberlain

WHY WE FOUGHT

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WHY WE FOUGHT

BY

THOMAS G. CHAMBERLAIN

CAPT. U. S. ARMY

A. B., J. D., Sometime Teaching Fellow in Political Science, University of California

FOREWORD BY

HON. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

Ex-President of the United States

New York

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1919

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TO 73,000 AMERICANS, FRIENDS OF MINE AND OF YOURS, WHO WILLINGLY GAVE THEIR LIVES FOR A BETTER WORLD, THIS BOOK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED. ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴

"To you from failing hands we throw
The Torch: be yours to hold it high!"

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FOREWORD

By Hon. William Howard Taft

Ex-President of the United States

THERE is no part of our people whose opinion on the question of whether we should have a League of Nations, and whether the pending peace treaty should be ratified, ought to have more weight with the Senate of the United States than the four million of boys who were enlisted in the war to defeat Germany. They know why they offered themselves. They know what the national purpose was. They know what their fighting was intended to mean for America and the world. Still more significant is the opinion of the eight hundred thousand of those four millions who were given the place of honor in the trenches and who did the actual fighting. The most sig-

nificant of all is the view of the seventy thousand American boys who offered up their lives in the cause, and whose great purpose in making the ultimate sacrifice undoubtedly was to end all wars for the world.

The following pages are the testimony of a witness who was a soldier on the fighting front, with a keen, inquiring, intelligent mind, who speaks with authority as to what our boys intended in this war.

I first heard and met Captain Thomas G. Chamberlain, the author of what follows, on the stage of the Municipal Auditorium in San Francisco. He is a graduate of the University of California where he was a student of political science, and a fellow of his university. His training and study fitted him and induced him to make the inquiries as to the psychology of the American boy soldier, and his varied experience at the front gave him the opportunity. As soon as we heard his first address in San Francisco, we were convinced that we should have his assistance on the missionary tours of the League

to Enforce Peace in behalf of the Covenant for the League of Nations. We, therefore, invited him to become a colleague on these trips. He has been most active and effective in support of the League ever since.

Captain Chamberlain is a young man of thorough training, of high intelligence, of fine character, a sincere patriot, whose lips have been touched with the gift of eloquence.

I commend the reading of this little book of his.

WM. H. TAFT.

June 8th, 1919,
Washington, D. C.

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From the editorial page of the *Saturday Evening Post,* April 19, 1919.

SOLDIERS AND SENATORS

This letter speaks for itself and, we believe, for a majority of the men who fought the war:

March 13, 1919

Hon. William Edgar Borah,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I attended the meeting at Boston which you recently addressed in opposition to the League of Nations. The full case was not presented at that meeting. Sailors and soldiers who attempted to speak were denied the opportunity.

A mere soldier, one among four millions, could not challenge a United States Senator; but as one so fortunate as to have been on the firing line when it was a question of the life or death of our nation, I ask permission to present at your meetings the case for the men who were willing to make and who did make the supreme sacrifice for a better world.

The American soldier fought with no selfish or sordid aim. He believed that something mightily worth while would follow his sacrifice. He believed an organization would follow which would make peace more secure. He knew little

of the details of a League of Nations; but from his everyday life he could see the necessity of organization. He now believes that it is the business of a constructive statesman to say what that organization should be, and not merely to oppose the one suggested.

We have been too busy on the other side to know what has been going on politically at home. Possibly an appeal for party support was made where it should not have been made. Possibly the Senate was not given full consideration. We do not know. But we do know that American soldiers have been dying for certain principles, and that these principles are too great to be discredited for the purpose of discrediting the man who happens to uphold them; too great to be discredited for the purpose of discrediting any party.

Of course this letter is public.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) THOMAS G. CHAMBERLAIN,
CAPTAIN, U. S. ARMY.

Address:
Hotel McAlpin, New York City.

Note: This letter was also printed in the *Independent* and in many leading newspapers, including the New York *Times*, New York *World*, Springfield *Republican*, and Boston *Globe*. Expressions of hearty approval have come to the writer from all parts of the country.

WILL THE SENATE LOSE WHAT THE SOLDIER WON?

Peace follows justice.
Justice follows law.
Law follows political organization.

MACHINERY OF THE LEAGUE

THE representatives of the United States at the Peace Conference, together with the representatives of thirty-one other powers, have unanimously recommended a Covenant for a League of Nations establishing a democratic international organization for the purpose of coöperation and the prevention of war. The Covenant has already received the criticism of the United States, and based on this criticism amendments have been made expressly safeguarding the Monroe Doctrine, removing immigration and domestic questions from the jurisdiction of the League, requiring a unanimous vote in matters of vital interest and providing for withdrawal.

It is believed that the Covenant in its present form embodies the great principles for which the war was fought and that it

will establish a rule of right in the world. In view of the importance of the subject and the impending action by the United States Senate, it is sincerely hoped that the American people will insist on a fair and impartial consideration, unaffected by personal or political motives.

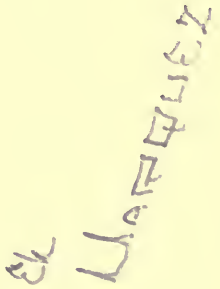
The League is not a world-state or a super-sovereign. The obligations assumed are contractual, and for the fulfilment of these certain machinery is provided. First, an Assembly, in which all States members of the League are to have three representatives, and one vote. Secondly, a Council of nine members, on which five States,— the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan,— are always to be represented, the four other States to be named by the Assembly. (Pending the naming of these States, the Peace Conference has agreed that Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain will be the States represented on the Council.) Thirdly, a Secretariat, made up of a general secretary to be appointed by the Council, subject to ratification by the As-

sembly, and his assistants, to be appointed by him, subject to ratification by the Council.

The States victorious in the war are to be charter members, together with such other States as may be invited and shall accept the invitation to join. It is not proposed to make the Central Powers members of the League at once. There will be time enough for their admission, as Mr. Taft so aptly says, when they bring forth fruit meet for repentance. But, eventually, of course, if the old balance of power is to be prevented, all States must become members. The advantages of membership are such that States will wish to join, and admission may be had by a two-thirds vote of the Assembly. A State may withdraw on two years' notice, provided its international obligations are fulfilled at the time of withdrawal.

The Council is to submit plans for a court of international justice for consideration and adoption by the Council. In addition, there will be a Commission

on Armament and a Commission on Colonies. It is agreed that international bureaus and commissions hereafter constituted shall be placed under the League, and such as are already established by general treaties shall come under the League if the parties to such treaties consent.



PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES

THE fundamental covenant made by members of the League is to permit delay for arbitration or inquiry prior to the outbreak of hostilities. To understand how this delay is to be introduced in every case is to understand the heart and crux of the Covenant.

The importance of such delay is illustrated by the experience of the Irishman who found that the resolution to count ten before striking the first blow kept him out of trouble. Possibly it can't be said that the ordinary Irishman would keep this resolution, but if he kept the resolution he would keep out of trouble. The practice between nations at present, as between certain select individuals of pugilistic lore, is to strike the blow and count ten afterward. It doesn't take an

expert in the psychology of violence or a veteran of the great war to point out the importance of delay. Those who have had only domestic encounters know how important it is — in preventing the outbreak of hostilities.

And delay has the same pacific tendency in international relations that it has in personal relations. In 1905 a serious situation arose in Morocco from the Kaiser's declaration of policy. A battleship landed off the coast of Agidir and war seemed imminent. Through the influence of Mr. Roosevelt, who was then President of the United States, the Algeciras Conference was called. The machinery was set up after the dispute had arisen, after tempers had become quickened, after peoples had become angered, after statesmen had become embittered; afterward and not before, as would be the case under the League. As a result of the Algeciras Conference, delay was introduced; the whole subject was discussed; public opinion was focussed upon the issues; French claims were established

in Morocco; the Kaiser had to back down, and war was averted.

Again, in 1912, a serious situation in the Balkans led the great nations to the brink of war. Once more, fortunately, they were successful in setting up machinery. The Conference of London was called. Discussion was had. The force of public opinion was felt and war was prevented.

We now recall those dark days during the latter part of July, 1914, and remember the cry that went up from every foreign minister of Europe; the cry that went up from the people of the entire civilized world. They were asking for delay, for conference, for discussion. But the Kaiser answered, "There can be no delay!" And why no delay? Because he knew, as we must know, that delay is fatal to the cause of the aggressor.

If the Covenant of Paris contained one provision, and one provision alone, and that a provision introducing the element of delay prior to the outbreak of hostilities, it would represent a great step in

advance; it would be worthy of acceptance by the American people; worthy of adoption by the United States Senate.

When the ordinary processes of diplomacy fail to-day, the next step is war. Under the League of Nations, the next step after diplomacy fails will be arbitration or inquiry. The machinery will be in existence by which such arbitration or inquiry can be had. Under the covenants of the League the necessary delay will be enforced.

It should be understood just how this element of delay is going to be introduced in every case after diplomacy fails. The nations agree, when a dispute arises, to go either to arbitration or to inquiry. If they agree to arbitration, they agree to abide by the finding of the arbitrators. There can be no hostility during a reasonable time allowed for arbitration, and not until three months after the finding, and not even then as against a nation that fulfils the award. The reasonable time allowed for arbitration, plus the three months, gives time for conference and dis-

cussion and the operation of public opinion.

If the nations do not agree to arbitration, the case goes to inquiry, ordinarily before the Council. In order that the report here given should be effective, it is necessary that it should be unanimously agreed to by all members of the Council, parties to the dispute of course excepted. There can be no hostility during six months allowed for the report and not until three months thereafter, and not even then as against a nation that complies with the report. Of course if the required unanimity is not had in the Council, the parties are free to take such action as may be necessary for the protection of their rights, but whether the required unanimity is had or not, there has been a delay of many months during which the forces of public opinion can operate.

The Council may transfer the inquiry to the Assembly, and it may be so transferred by either party to the dispute merely by giving notice within fourteen days after the dispute has been filed. For

the report of the Assembly to be effective, it is necessary that such report should be unanimously agreed to by all States, members of the Council, and a majority of all the others, except, of course, that a party to the dispute cannot act as judge in its own case. There is no more assurance that agreement can be reached in the Assembly than in the Council, but, in any event, the important element of delay is introduced and by delay many wars can be prevented.

ENFORCEMENT OF COVENANTS

THE members of the League are nations that regard treaties of peace not as scraps of paper but as solemn obligations. If, however, any nation should undertake hostility in violation of the Covenant to allow arbitration or inquiry first, then such nation is to be immediatiately boycotted by all the others. This means that all relations — financial, commercial, personal — are to be severed with the offending nation. This represents a very grave penalty indeed.

There was a time when nations could stand alone and by themselves, but today, with the progress of civilization, the development of mechanical methods, and especially the improvement in means of transportation, no nation can provide for its citizens a satisfactory state of welfare without the most extensive international

relations. These international relations are not theories, they are facts. The disputes arising out of them are not theories, they are facts. The machinery for dealing with these disputes when they arise, and for settling them more economically and more justly than they could be settled through war, is to-day a theory, and it remains for enlightened American opinion to translate this theory into a fact.

Through the arteries of trade the life of nations is linked up. The vitality of nations is such a common thing that no nation can enjoy a state of peace while other great nations are at war. How well do we know this from our experience prior to our entry into the Great War. To-day no nation can claim neutrality as a right any more than the citizen at common law could claim to stand aside as a right while the criminal was being pursued. The peace of the world is the business of the world, and in that business the United States must share her part of the responsibility.

It is now admitted that had Germany at one time made her blockade against England effective for two weeks, she could have starved out that country. This international dependence is a fact.

When we are told that the United States is going to be drawn into small wars all over the face of the earth, the simple answer is that the blockade is certainly going to prove effective in the case of the small nation, if not in the case of the great and powerful, like the United States.

If, however, the blockade should not prove effective, then the Council is to recommend what military force is to be supplied by each of the several powers. It is not contemplated that the benefit of this League will come in ordinary course through the use of this military power. This is not a league for war; it is a league for peace. The organization of the military power of the world will be sufficient as a potential force to secure the enforcement of the covenants. What nation would care to undertake the hos-

tility of this organized body? — to such an issue there could be but one outcome.

The Monroe Doctrine has never cost us a single shot nor has it cost us the life of a single soldier, and yet that guiding, all-powerful, parental hand of the United States, watching the destinies of the peoples of South America, has been sufficient to prevent aggression, to guarantee the territorial integrity and political independence of those peoples, not through its use, but through the threat and warning of potential force.

ARMAMENT

THE evils of competitive armament are well known. If, in addition to the great burden brought upon the people of the belligerent countries by this war, we are to add the burden of greater and greater armies and navies, the outlook is certainly not encouraging.

In India, a country having great need for education, even before this war there was spent each year twenty times as much on armament as on education. This same lack of educational facilities, while great sums are being spent on armament, is true in all countries of the world to a greater or a smaller extent.

We must do something to relieve this great burden. Under the League it is provided, not that the regulation of our army and navy is to be turned over to foreign powers, as our opponents tell us,

but that the Council is to recommend a general reduction of armament for each of the several powers. The recommendation must be unanimous, which means that the representative of the United States must vote for it, and in the second place the Council can only make a recommendation, and final action is reserved to our own Congress. Does this seem like leaving the determination of our armament to foreign powers?

The peoples of the world are burdened with competitive armament, and under the League we are going to lighten that burden. It is easy enough to condemn and to say that the League is all wrong, but what do the opponents of the League propose for the reduction of armament?

SECRET TREATIES

As President Wilson said in the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City, "If the League of Nations were nothing but a great debating society, it would kill intrigue." These secret, underhanded treaties, by which whole nations are plunged into war without even knowing the reason for it, must be eliminated. The League of Nations sounds the death knell of secret treaties and secret diplomacy.

From the very fact that we have had in Paris a meeting together of the representatives of the several powers, several secret treaties have been brought to light. We are now discussing treaties that we did not know anything about a few months ago. These treaties are outlawed under the League. No treaty is to be binding until it is filed with the general secretary and made public.

A treaty is a contract, and the essence of any contract is the consideration, the obligation. Should such treaties be made in violation of the Covenant, it would only be necessary to appeal to the League for relief from the fulfilment of the obligation. Ask the opponent of the League of Nations how he proposes to eliminate secret treaties without some such coöperation among the nations as is here proposed.

THE COLONIES

WHAT are we going to do with the German colonies? This was a question that the Peace Conference had to answer. Germany had maltreated the peoples of those colonies; she had abused them. We could not return the colonies to Germany. What would the opponents of the League have done with them? Would they have turned them loose, as the prey of any power that might care to grab them?

Under the League, this fundamental principle was laid down, and even the opponents of the League must admit that this principle is sound: backward peoples constitute a sacred trust of civilization.

We did not stop with the declaration of this principle but provided the machinery by which it could be carried out. The Powers best suited to undertake the mandate for backward peoples were appointed

by the League, and every year the Powers so undertaking these mandates must report to the League upon the execution of the trust,— sacred trust that we have declared it to be.

This constitutes an effective settlement of the colonial problem, and there has been no other effective settlement proposed.

"Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free"

"Where there is no vision, the people perish"

Speech Delivered By
Captain Thomas G. Chamberlain

Before the Pacific Coast Congress for a League of Nations, San Francisco, California, February 19, 1919.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: The invitation to speak here this evening with such distinguished persons came as a surprise to me, and it was with apprehension that I accepted. But I am glad of the opportunity, glad because I feel that I have something to say to you, something that the soldiers would wish me to say to you; the soldiers, not only those who have served here at home, not only those of us who are just returning from overseas, not only those who are yet to be returned, but also those who shall never return.

I have talked with the soldiers in the camps in this country, on the high seas, in the hospitals of France, and in the trenches. I know what the soldier felt. Many of our conversations I might tell you of, but I shall refer to only one; only one, because it is typical of them all. It was a gloomy night on the western front behind the lines at Chateau Thierry. I was talking with a soldier — a doughboy. The military situation was critical, and we knew it. The Italians had met with serious reverses. The French, after a stubborn fight, had lost Chemin-des-Dames, perhaps the strongest position on our line. The Germans had attacked in Flanders, where the British and Portuguese armies came together, and had opened a gap. The British Fifth Army had been turned back into Picardy. The situation was critical. As we talked we could hear the roar of the artillery far up and far down the line, and before us the star shells lighted the sky. He told me of his experiences in going over the top; he told me of his exploits in No Man's Land.

He told me that he was going over again in the morning and, when he left, he said — and I shall never forget his words, "We have a big job to do, but we are going to finish it and finish it forever, and," he added, "if I can help finish it, I won't mind one of those wooden crosses for a monument, like those other fellows have."

He went over in the morning. He didn't come back. He has a wooden cross for a monument. And those of us who are here to tell the story, no matter what our future acts may be, shall never have a monument quite so high or quite so glorious as his. "He lives in fame who dies in virtue's cause."

It was no sordid aim that took that man over the top with the fields and roads plowed by shell fire, with the trees shattered and splintered and torn, with buildings razed to the ground; it was no sordid aim that turned the tide at Chateau Thierry. It was no sordid aim that wiped out that gas-soaked, shell-shocked salient at St. Mihiel. It was no sordid

aim that waded through the fiery, burning hell in the Argonne Forest.

Was this a war for democracy? Was it a war to end war? Was it a war for a new era, a new order, a new international order, which should ensure the enforcement of right and justice between nations?

These are questions to which the soldier desires an answer. There are a few who say it is all bunk and, unfortunately for us, some of these few are now sitting in the United States Senate. But the fact is that the soldier believed it was not bunk, and, so believing, he marched willingly to fight and often but not less willingly to death.

I testify that the American soldier gave his life not merely to win a war but to win a cause. That cause involves benefits and it involves responsibilities. Are we going to assume those responsibilities or are we going to dodge them?

When John Hay sent an international expedition into China, he was not trying to dodge the responsibility of the United States. When that great student of John

Hay's, and that great American, Theodore Roosevelt, sent Mr. Henry White, one of our representatives now in Paris, to the Algeciras Convention, he was not trying to dodge the responsibility of the United States. On that occasion the Kaiser sent three telegrams to Mr. Roosevelt attempting to bring about a change in his attitude, but Roosevelt stood his ground, with the result that French claims were established in Morocco and the Kaiser had to back down. Finally, my friends, though Senators may dodge, when the mothers and fathers of America sent us across the water, they were not trying to dodge the responsibility of the United States.

We can now establish a reign of law based on the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind, or we can return to secret treaties and competitive armaments. The choice is yours. The new order; under the leadership of President Wilson and Mr. Taft, with all that it means to mankind: the old order, with the verdict of

history that these dead have died in vain; the old order, a sorry harvest to reap from the blood of seventy thousand American crusaders that has soaked the fields of France.

Speech Delivered By
Captain Thomas G. Chamberlain

Before the Mountain Congress for a League of Nations, Salt Lake City, Utah, February 22, 1919.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: The last year I spent on the front in France, I was concerned with one problem and one problem alone, that,— the winning of the war. But I have had an insight into the thought and purpose of the man who has borne the brunt of the fighting and to-day I wish to tell you of that thought and that purpose, and something of the circumstances under which they were determined.

The man who tells you that the soldier does not think, does not know him. Of course, there is no time in the army for

drafting constitutions for a League of Nations. With the details, the soldier is little concerned, but he knows how necessary organization is. He knows that he can't get the "slum" into his messkit without standing in line. He fought with zeal and determination to defeat Germany, spurred on by the belief that with a defeated Germany, an effective world organization would follow, an organization that would put an end to war.

So many and so varied have been the circumstances under which this belief has been expressed to me that I hardly know which to tell you of.

But turn with me to those dark days last Spring, those days after Italy's forced retreat, after the loss of Chemin-des-Dames, after the split between the Portuguese and British armies, after the sad experiences of the Fifth Army, after the drive before Soissons and Rheims, the drive that forced the salient through to Chateau Thierry. Recall those days when the Germans came on and on and ever on. It seemed that nothing would

stop the advancing hordes. Artillery had been massed and all was in readiness for the final drive on Paris, which was to end the war.

Then came the Marines, and there on the 6th day of June a glorious page in American history was written. As the Greeks of old, who "Gathered the barbarian sheaths into their breasts and, by perishing, saved the world," so the Marines drowned the German monster in a welter of American blood. Eight thousand Marines went into the fight, eighteen hundred came out of the fight. In all the history of land warfare there has never been a body of troops which, for courage, morale and determination, could excel the United States Marines. They turned the tide. They saved Paris. They saved France. They saved the war. They saved the world.

You have heard much in praise of the Marines, and they are worthy of it all. Then, too, the Aviators played a great part in the victory. Many Esquadrilles had replacements running over one hun-

dred per cent. every few days. You recall what that great leader, Lloyd George, said of the aviators: "They are the knighthood of the war. They are the cavalry of the clouds. Every flight is a romance; every report is an epic." All credit to the Aviators.

But there is another branch, not so much heralded, yet worthy of much credit. I refer to the Infantryman, the "doughboy." He carries a bayonet. He goes over the top. He meets cold steel with cold steel. He fights. I saw one company of infantrymen go into the lines at Chateau Thierry with two hundred and fifty men. That company came out of the lines with twenty-nine men.

Here it was that I talked with the soldiers, talked with them under circumstances that would certainly guarantee the truth and the sincerity of their opinions. I talked with them just before their deaths. I know that the soldier did not believe that this was merely a war among wars. He believed this to be an epoch-making war and that something mightily

worth while would follow his sacrifice.

The battlefield was thousands of miles from the United States, and possibly some judged war by good-looking uniforms and a brass band. What Senator has seen the torn and mangled bodies of fallen men, men hanging on the wire for hours with one hope and one prayer and that for a friendly shot to end the agony. I have seen men's eyes eaten out by gas. I have stood by, unable to help, as the gas ate slowly into their lungs, and have seen them gasp for the last and final breath. That is war.

And the worst is not found in the physical suffering of the men, but on the trail of the refugee. There are those who give more than life itself — the lives of those dear to them. I have seen an entire family trudging along the road homeless, helpless, hopeless, perhaps driving a goat as their sole possession, but more often without possession. Once I saw a mother carrying a new-born child. The mother looked pale and haggard, but the child no longer suffered.

And as they filed along the roads, they would sometimes stop and with a stone, against the wall of a ruined house, write the names of those they had loved and lost. I remember the bent and tired form of an old French peasant who asked a light at dusk, and, as the tears streamed down his face, he wrote his name and that of his beloved wife. Over and over again he wrote the names of a couple parted, perhaps forever; and, as he wrote, he dropped the stone, turned, went sobbing out into the darkness which led, he knew not where.

I returned to this country on a ship with two thousand wounded men. There were legs gone, arms gone, eyes gone. Sometimes so much gone that it seemed 'twere better if all were gone. On the boat there was a cage for shell-shocked men — men driven insane. I liked to talk with the wounded men because among them I found a spirit unequaled. One young fellow, leaning on crutches and supporting one crutch by a stump of an arm while nursing a bad head-wound, said he

would have preferred a grave in France, but added, " At last the world has learned the lesson that wars must end."

It was from such scenes of hopefulness as this that I went to the United States Senate, and there, to my utter dismay, I found that the very principles were being condemned for which American soldiers have been giving their lives.

It may seem presumptuous for a mere soldier, one among four millions, to take issue with one so high and dignified as a United States Senator. I claim no more credit for myself than is due to the lowest " buck " private who carried a rifle in the rear rank; but that lowest private can stand squarely on his two feet, look full in the face the most distinguished descendant of Rip Van Winkle who ever sat in the United States Senate, the greatest man who ever represented or misrepresented th American people in that body, and say, " When it was a matter of the honor and integrity of our country; yes, when it was a matter of the life or death of our nation, I was on the firing line."

The plain soldier has earned a right to be heard. He asks that American opinion hear him and then he says: "We have had enough of war, we have accomplished our end in the army by organization. We believe in organization. Internationally, we are unorganized. Internationally, we are in a state of anarchy. We don't believe in anarchy. We believe in order through organization."

The soldier fought to make the world safe for democracy and he is going to fight to keep it safe. The American people accepted President Wilson's statement of our war aims, and supported the war with the conviction that the defeat of Germany would mean the birth of a new freedom. All of the belligerent countries and the great mass of mankind the world over accepted the Fourteen Points, one of which provided for a League of Nations, as the basis for the armistice, and as the only basis for a just and lasting peace. The fact that the soldier fought and bled and died for a

better order, that the American people poured out their money in the faith that a new era approached, that all the belligerent governments accepted the principle of a League of Nations, that the mass of mankind, the world over, has hoped and prayed for the end of war, did not prevent Senator Borah from saying on the floor of the United States Senate, without even a suggestion for better organization, "If the Savior of mankind should revisit the earth and declare for a league of nations, I would be opposed to it." Is this the representative of the American people or are they more truly represented by the men who made the supreme sacrifice for a better world?

Twenty-four hundred years ago Greece at Platæa defeated her Persian invaders and drove them finally and forever from her lands. To her dead soldiers she erected a monument. For that monument her poet, Simonides, wrote the Epitaph. In that epitaph he made the dead heroes speak and this is what they said: "If to die nobly is the chief part

of excellence, then to us of all men Fortune gave this lot; for, by hastening to set a crown of freedom on Hellas, we lie possessed of praise that grows not old." By so much as the freedom of the world to-day is of greater moment than was the freedom of Greece of old, by that larger measure do our dead heroes lie possessed of praise that can never grow old.

I speak and feel as I do, not primarily because I admire President Wilson as a great leader in a great cause, not primarily because I admire Mr. Taft as a man big enough to put principle above partisanship, not because of any debt I owe to any living man, but because of a debt I owe, and because of a debt you owe, to almost 100,000 of America's best citizens, who now lie sleeping in lonely graves in the far-off fields of France. To-day a voice comes to me and to you from that distant land. It speaks with one accord and asks, "Have we died in vain? Oh, have we died in vain!"

Speech Delivered By
Captain Thomas G. Chamberlain

Before the Mid-Continent Congress for a League of Nations, St. Louis, Missouri, February 28, 1919.

One year ago I was in the city of Paris when forty German Gothas, painted black and flying at 120 miles an hour, came over the city and dropped their bombs. Great buildings were destroyed; men, women and children were killed. There were only forty planes. Why should there not be four thousand? If we go on under a system of competitive armaments, there will be, and the city will be destroyed in a single night, before there has been a declaration of war; and there is no city on the face of the earth that need not await the same fate. Considering the present development of the hydroplane

and the number of such planes that can be transported on a single ship, no city could feel secure.

I was in Paris when "Big Bertha," the German long-range gun, opened fire on the city. At regular 15-minute intervals the bursts occurred and each burst spelled destruction and death. There were only two guns — why should there not be 200 with bursts occurring at intervals of a few seconds or continuously? I have seen a tank come up out of a shell hole, the sides of which were so steep that a man could not climb up. Tanks as large as locomotives — why not movable forts with heavy guns?

Recently an American flew over the city of London in a Handley-Page with forty passengers. Within the last few months we have come to classify bombs by tons rather than by pounds, as previously. We know that an American scientist discovered a gas so deadly that a few bombs containing it would have destroyed every vestige of life in Berlin. Both sides so feared the resultant horrors that they

hesitated at dropping gas bombs on cities. To consider the possibility of the developed engines of war — the developed aëroplane, tank, long-range gun, gas bomb, gas shell, submarine, under the system of competitive armaments — is to arrive at the inevitable conclusion that civilization must, here and now, end the war or be ended by it.

Competitive armaments not only cause war and therefore constitute a challenge to civilization itself, but they undermine the very foundation of free government. President Lowell, distinguished authority on political institutions that he is, will tell you that English political history represents a struggle for the establishment of the principle that the House of Commons is supreme, that the House of Commons shall determine questions of policy and determine the amount of taxation. In 1913 the first Lord of the Admiralty appeared in the House and said, "Germany has undertaken an increase in her naval program. When Germany lays two keels, we must lay three." Accordingly, the

proposed increase in the Navy was undertaken and the necessary taxes were voted.

In France, where representative government was only established by a bloody revolution, the length of compulsory military service was determined by the whim of the Kaiser. An increase in the German army meant an increase in the French army. Our own military and naval policy will be determined by the action of other nations. The peoples of the world can eliminate a policy dictated by fear and suspicion and gain true representation only through the meeting of their representatives for common action, as proposed by the League of Nations. Final consent is, of course, reserved to our own Congress.

We went into this war for the very good and sufficient reason that we could not keep out with honor. There are some people, apparently, who do not yet realize that when Germany attacked France and Belgium she was attacking the United States. Freedom was at stake. Our ships were sunk on the high seas; our

citizens were ruthlessly murdered on merchant vessels where they had a right, under international law, to be. When free institutions are challenged the United States stands ready to oppose and we will not ask that others fight our battles. We are not ashamed of our record in this war. We are now ready to stand with all free peoples for the freedom of the world, just as we have stood during the last year.

The policy of glorious isolation didn't keep us out of this war, and it won't keep us out of any great war. Mechanical methods and modern transportation have made the world smaller. To-day, the peace of the world is the business of the world and in that business the United States must take full share of the benefits and the burdens. That is only fair play.

George Washington was a man who looked squarely at the facts and then looked forward. George Washington was the man who presided at the Constitutional Convention that gave us the Constitution of the United States. Was he looking backward? At the time of his

farewell address, he certainly had no such world organization, as is here proposed, in mind. The very purpose of this organization is to prevent the alliances he objected to. I firmly believe that if George Washington were alive to-day he would favor the League of Nations.

Even if it were admitted that Washington, in his day, opposed such organization, nothing is established thereby. Washington said that a stage-coach was the best means of transportation and in his day he was entirely right. Great disciples of Washington that certain Senators have recently become, they don't use the stage-coach.

From one year in France I learned the true feeling of the American soldier. While he had no elaborate means of expression and no elegant ideas on the details of a League of Nations, he believed that something mightily worth while would follow his sacrifice — that he warred to end war and that out of his efforts would come an effective international organization which could render the

recurrence of such a catastrophe improbable if not impossible.

I recall those dark days last Spring after the defeat of Italy, the loss of Chemin-des-Dames by the French, the defeat of the Portuguese in Flanders and the breakdown of the British Fifth Army in Picardy. It seemed that nothing could stop the German armies and, as they drew closer and closer toward Paris, the question was asked with greater and greater anxiety, "Who can stop the onslaught?" How proud I was as an American in those dark days, to see the American standard raised high at Chateau Thierry and carried victoriously onward through St. Mihiel and the Argonne Forest toward the River Rhine. In this critical period of the world's history, when the peoples of the earth cry out for leadership, is the United States going to stand up to the standard of leadership erected by her soldiers? That is the issue!

It was a great surprise to me upon returning to this country to find that the very principles for which the American

soldier has been dying on the battlefields of France were being condemned on the floor of the United States Senate; and what is the argument he hears? He is told that in 1848 the United States had trouble with Mexico — that we got what we wanted, and he is asked if such a case should recur would we wish to leave it to foreigners.

If this war has established any principle it has established the principle that there is a moral law above the state and to that moral law the state must answer. It was the Kaiser who believed that the state was all supreme and irresponsible.

The trouble with certain Senators is that they are steeped in the philosophy of Kaiser Wilhelm, the philosophy we fought to kill, the philosophy that died with the defeat of Germany.

And who are these fearful foreigners? It now happens that there are about two million "Yanks" who, by close association, by living in the same dugouts with "Poilus" and "Tommies," have learned a new lesson. We have discovered that

the Britisher, Frenchman, and Italian are two-legged animals, about like ourselves, who eat, sleep, fight; yes, and even think as we do, and we have about made up our minds that we can better put our trust in these fearful foreigners than in certain men who claim to represent us in the United States Senate.

Throughout the great war the world has turned to America for moral leadership. It now rests with the power of a United American opinion to lead the world to the victory of Peace by the establishment of an effective League of Nations.

Speech Delivered By
Captain Thomas G. Chamberlain

Before the Southern Congress for a League of Nations, Atlanta, Georgia, February 26, 1919.

The fight for a League of Nations will go on, but so far as this trip is concerned we are approaching the end of the trail. Those of you who attended the World's Fair in 1915 at San Francisco remember the statue of the duck baby, and those lines —

"Thus ever it is in this world of ours,
The brightest light must fail,
There is a tear in the eye and an aching heart,
When we come to the end of the trail."

So it is that I feel about this trip.

Great changes are wrought by war. A few months ago I was riding in a box car

in France, a car with holes in it large enough to throw a cat through while the temperature was several degrees below zero. The car bore that label which has become a slogan with the American Expeditionary Forces, "40 L'homme, 8 cheveaux." I translate it, not because I doubt that there are those who do not speak the language of our glorious ally, but because I have reason to doubt my own pronunciation. As one of the men in my battery said when writing home to his mother, "I studied French for two years before I came over here and speak it perfectly, but these people don't know their own language." 40 L'homme, 8 cheveaux,— 40 men, 8 horses, and the only difference was that the horses had straw to sleep on. My bunkie on that box car was an Italian, who spoke no English. I know that he spoke no English; I also know that I speak no Italian because several weeks later he came to me and said something that sounded like the Latin I once learned and forgot. I thought he wanted to visit one of the towns in the

rear and, desiring to give him the same privileges that the other men had, I said, yes. He left, and didn't return; and later I learned that he had gone to Italy — so far as I know, with my permission. Such are the changes wrought by war that in the course of a few short months I have graduated from that humble box car in France, with my humble bunkie, to the special car of the ex-President of the United States, and my bunkie is none other than the distinguished scholar and learned head of one of our greatest universities, Dr. Lowell.

I wish to have a personal talk with you. I wish to talk about myself. I haven't ventured to do this before because I desired to finish the trip, but now we have arrived at the end of the trail. I graduated from the University of California in 1915 and returned to the University for two years' graduate work in the legal department, during which time I held a teaching fellowship in Government. I had occasion to follow very closely the events prior to the entry of the United

States into the war and to consider the purpose of the war. Soon after our government came in I enlisted in the army and there I made it my business to find out what the men thought. In the camps of this country, on the high seas, in the hospitals of France and in the trenches I have talked with the soldiers. The soldier believed that this actually was a war for democracy; he did not consider this a war among wars; he considered this an epoch-making war. He believed that something mightily worth while would follow his sacrifice.

I sometimes wonder if the situation last Spring looked as serious to you on this side as it did to us over there. We knew of Italy's misfortune, we knew the importance of Chemin-des-Dames, and that the French, after a fight against great odds, had lost it. We knew of the retreat of the Portuguese in Flanders and of the British 5th Army in Picardy. We knew that the German hordes were coming on and on. As we went out from Paris to Chateau Thierry last Spring, we could see

the appearance of despair on every hand. French peasants had piled high their two-wheeled carts with household goods and were leaving for other parts. The question was asked on every hand — who can stop the German advance? Troops returning from the line looked worn and weary and did not seem to entertain much hope for the situation. I remember the night at dusk when it seemed that all was lost, there came swinging up the road a long column of troops and they were singing, "The Yanks are coming, the Yanks are coming." And the Yanks were coming.

As they marched along the road a French liaison officer, pale and excited, approached Colonel Wise, saluted, and said hurriedly, "Sir, your orders are to hold the advance as long as possible and then retreat to the trenches; we will prepare for you in the rear."

"Retreat," said Colonel Wise. "Retreat Hell; we are just coming, we will let the Germans retreat,"— and the Germans retreated.

In one determined smash the whole course of the world's history was changed. When it seemed that all was lost I was proud at Chateau Thierry as an American to see the American standard raised and carried victoriously forward. It took that same standard to wipe out the salient at St. Mihiel. It was that same standard that waded through hell in the Argonne Forest, and went victoriously on to the river Rhine, on to the victorious end of the greatest war of all time.

At this critical period in the World's history, when the peoples of the world cry out for leadership, is American opinion going to rally round the standard which American soldiers raised on foreign battlefields? There are those who ask retreat, but the American soldier answers just as Colonel Wise answered at Chateau Thierry.

A few weeks ago I visited the United States Senate and was utterly dismayed to find that the principles for which American soldiers have been dying in France were being condemned on the floor

of the Senate. It makes my blood boil to think that our distinguished representatives do not display the same willingness to play the game that was displayed by our men over there.

Well may it be said that if Mr. Taft were a modern Catiline condemned by Cicero for conspiracy, and if President Wilson were an Aaron Burr of to-day, their condemnation on the floor of the Senate could not be more bitter. Yet of what crime are they guilty? In all sincerity and in all earnestness they have attempted to do the will of God and fulfil that prayer of the Savior, for "Peace on Earth, Good Will Toward Men."

As this is my Swan Song I wish to read you a bit of verse which I have never read to an audience before, and may never again. It was written by a man in my Battery, a "buck" private; not even a first-class private. He wrote this in a letter to his mother, and while censoring the letter I found it. That it represents the thought and purpose of the soldier is borne out by the fact that practically every

man in the Battery made a copy and sent it home, if he knew how to write and if he had a home.

Why is this strife and turmoil
Loose in the world to-day?
Why are the armies gathered?
Why is this warlike display?
Each night the flare of the cannon
Paints the northern skies all red,
Each eve are hundreds of missing —
Missing — wounded or dead.

Farmers are gone from the harvest,
Husbands are gone from their wives,
The earth is plunged in sorrow
Mourning a million lives,
Children cry for their fathers
And women grieve for their men,
Mothers, half doubting, are praying
Their sons shall return again.

Towns and cities are ruined,
Thousands of fields lie bare,
War holds earth in her clutches,
The sea and the land and the air.
What can the old war offer
As a recompense for this?
Can the things we shall gain ever banish
The forms and the faces we miss?
What of the wife, now a widow?

And the mother whose sons are gone?
Will peace bring back our missing
And happiness go on?

Cheer up, O grieving mothers
And all of you who mourn,
Our dead are dead victorious
For the larger world unborn.
To them fell the task of the ages
And, oh, how gloriously
Have they fought and died and suffered
To free Humanity.

Free from the bands and the shackles
That bound us to the past;
Free from the strife and struggle
And to make this war the last.
Free, and each man in kindred
To a hundred million others,
And earth again an Eden
Where men may dwell as brothers.

Speech Delivered By Captain Thomas G. Chamberlain

Before the State Convention for a League of Nations, Portland, Maine, May 23, 1919.

"There comes a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune." Judging from the arguments against the League by certain Senators they would class these lines as a very low form of literature because they were written by an Englishman. But most of us require a little more proof than that to establish their worthlessness, and most of the United States will judge the Covenant of Paris on its merit. A great tide in the affairs of the world has come. We must take it at the flood and go on to fortune; or reject it and before the tears and blood of this war are dry, prepare for

another world catastrophe under which our civilization cannot endure.

We stand at the threshold of a new and better world order. There is danger that we shall not enter, but there is more imminent danger that by amendment we shall ruin the very foundation of the structure in which our high hopes are housed.

We come before you advocating the League of Nations as it is. We ask only that you read the Covenant, come to a decision, and do all in your power to make your decision the decision of your government.

The people of the country who very properly turn to their Senators for enlightenment hear from Senator Reed that the Covenant is a cruel and monstrous document by which the United States would be enslaved to black and yellow races. That statement is untrue and the proof that it is untrue is to be found in the Covenant itself. I ask you in all solemnity: Is a stricken humanity standing amidst the blood and ashes of the cruelest war of all history to be defeated as it gropes toward

peaceful settlement of international difficulties by bald and unvarnished misstatements of fact?

That statement of Senator Reed's must be denounced as a malign attempt to defeat by the politician's tongue what has been won by the soldier's blood.

Will the ratification of the League mark the day of America's surrender to foreign powers? The foundation principles, the corner stones of the League, are disarmament and arbitration, and these are American principles. More international disputes have been peacefully settled since the founding of our Republic than were settled in all human history, prior to that time. In 1790 Congress provided that our army should consist of "twelve hundred souls." Before the Civil War there were fifteen thousand men in the Federal Army. Before this war we had an army of one hundred thousand men as against the millions in the European armies. The ratification of the Covenant by the Senate will not mark the day of America's surrender to foreign powers; rather will

it mark the day of America's triumph, for on that day will great American principles be spread to all the world.

There is talk of a treaty of peace first, and a League of Nations afterward. I hope that peace comes quickly; I hope that the treaty may soon be in force; but as one who has seen the results of a violated treaty, who has seen the rape of Belgium, the death and destruction that followed in the wake of that decision to regard a solemn treaty obligation as a scrap of paper, I hope that peace never comes, I hope that the treaty never goes into force, until as part and parcel of that treaty there is an organization to stand behind it, to guarantee its terms and to enforce those terms.

Suppose we provide in the Treaty, as we should and as we have, that Poland is to be an independent state. Suppose that Germany signs the Treaty. Suppose that in a few months or in a few years Germany decides to annex Poland. Now, consider the chaos of Russia, the condition of England — in fact, of the British

Empire — after the drains made by this war. Consider the condition of the industries of France, of those towns along the French border as I have seen them and as you know them to be, and tell me what power is there to step in at once and stop that aggression should it be undertaken. There is no power and there will be none unless it be the League of Nations.

Did we set up before the world that the rights of small peoples are just as sacred as the rights of great and powerful and declare that the fulfilment of that principle was one of our war aims only to back out, only to back down, now at this the hour of greatest hope of these peoples, when it seems that after years of oppression they are about to realize these national hopes, these racial aspirations, this great ideal, the great American ideal of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? Millions of struggling people took on a new vitality during the war and putting their hope, their faith, and their trust in America fought on to a state of utter exhaustion.

Would you call out to a drowning man, "Don't give up, I'll save you," and after he had spent his strength in the struggle and you had brought him to the wharf, would you leave him helpless to be hurled back into the black abyss of despair by the first enemy that happens along? Would you leave him when his weakened condition is due to his faith in you? No, you would not. Not if you were an American and, thank God, I know what an American is to-day!

When I was a boy, and that wasn't very many years ago, I read of the glorious deeds of the men of Bunker Hill and Gettysburg and I was thrilled by their performance. Then I read that the Americans of to-day were mere slaves of greed, money grubbers, white and lily-livered. But to-day I know that the Americans of your blood and your generation know how to suffer and how to die and beside the men of Bunker Hill and Gettysburg can stand the men of Chateau Thierry and the Argonne Forest.

The League of Nations is not a question

of magnanimous philanthropy. It is a simple question of simple justice, and in this fight for justice we stake our leaders, Mr. Taft and President Lowell and the rest, against all their Reeds and all their Borahs, remembering as we do that "He is thrice armed who hath his quarrel just and he but naked though locked up in steel, whose conscience by injustice is corrupted."

A square deal to small peoples calls for the League of Nations now. We need the League as a part of that Treaty of Peace. We didn't fight this war to set up a mere truce; we deserve a peace worthy of our effort.

I can tell you in all truthfulness that America was not misrepresented on the fighting front. She couldn't afford to be — there was too much at stake. And there is too much at stake now, to have her misrepresented in the U. S. Senate. Are you going to allow her to be misrepresented in this great crisis of the world's history?

We owe it to those who are not going

to come back to set up a structure worthy of their sacrifice. They were enthused and fired to a pitch where death was not feared by the belief that this was a war for great principles, a war for democracy, a war to end war. One of the men who has a wooden cross in Flanders for a monument sent this challenge to each and every one of us just before he went down to his death:

In Flanders fields the poppies grow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place: and in the sky
The larks still bravely singing, fly
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the Dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved, and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you from failing hands we throw
The Torch: be yours to hold it high!
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.

COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Adopted at the Plenary Session of the Interallied Peace Conference, April 28, 1919

In order to promote international coöperation and to achieve international peace and security, by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the high contracting parties agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations:

Article I

MEMBERSHIP AND WITHDRAWAL

1. The original members of the League of Nations shall be those of the signatories which are named in the annex to this Covenant and also

such of those other states named in the annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accessions shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other members of the League.

2. Any fully self-governing state, dominion or colony not named in the annex may become a member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guaranties of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military and naval forces and armaments.

3. Any member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

Article II

EXECUTIVE ORGANS

1. The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a Permanent Secretariat.

Article III

ASSEMBLY

1. The Assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the League.

2. The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

3. The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

4. At meetings of the Assembly each member of the League shall have one vote, and may not have more than three representatives.

Article IV

COUNCIL

1. The Council shall consist of representatives of the principal allied and associated powers, together with representatives of four other members of the League. These four members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the representatives of the four members of the League first selected by the Assembly, representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain shall be members of the Council.

2. With the approval of the majority of the

Assembly, the Council may name additional members of the League whose representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.

3. The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

4. The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

5. Any member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the League.

6. At meetings of the Council each member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one representative.

Article V

VOTING AND PROCEDURE

1. Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant, or by the terms of the present treaty, decision at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of

all the members of the League represented at the meeting.

2. All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or the Council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the members of the League represented at the meeting.

3. The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

Article VI

SECRETARIAT

1. The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

2. The first Secretary-General shall be the person named in the annex; thereafter the Secretary-General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

3. The secretaries and the staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council.

4. The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

5. The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

Article VII

SEAT, QUALIFICATIONS FOR OFFICIALS, IMMUNITIES

1. The seat of the League is established at Geneva.

2. The Council may at any time decide that the seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

3. All positions under or connecting with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

4. Representatives of the members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

5. The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

Article VIII

REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS

1. The members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction

of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

2. The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each state, shall formulate plans for such reductions for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

3. Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every 10 years.

4. After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, limits or armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

5. The members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

6. The members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military and naval programs, and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

Article IX

PERMANENT MILITARY COMMISSION

1. A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles I and VIII and on military and naval questions generally.

Article X

GUARANTIES AGAINST AGGRESSION

1. The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

Article XI

ACTION IN CASE OF WAR OR THREAT OF WAR

1. Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the Secretary-General shall, on the request of any

member of the League, forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

2. It is also declared to be the fundamental right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

Article XII

DISPUTES TO BE SUBMITTED TO ARBITRATION OR INQUIRY

1. The members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.

2. In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

Article XIII

ARBITRATION OF DISPUTES

1. The members of the League agree that, whenever any dispute shall exist between them

which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration.

2. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

3. For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed upon by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

4. The members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

Article XIV

COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

1. The Council shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a permanent Court of International Justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

Article XV

DISPUTES NOT SUBMITTED TO ARBITRATION

1. If there should arise between members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration in accordance with Article XIII, the members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary-General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case, with all the relevant facts and papers; the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

2. The Council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of the dispute and, if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

3. If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

4. Any member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

5. If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendation of the report.

6. If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenace of right and justice.

7. If the dispute between the parties is claimed

by one of them, and is found by the Council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

8. The Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request is made within 14 days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

9. In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this article and of Article XII relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other members of the League, exclusive in each case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

Article XVI

SANCTIONS

1. Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Ar-

ticles XII, XIII and XV, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the League or not.

2. It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military or naval force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

3. The members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking state of the League, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the League which are coöperating to protect the covenants of the League.

4. Any member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the representatives of all the members of the League represented thereon.

Article XVII

DISPUTES WITH NON-MEMBERS

1. In the event of a dispute between a member of the League and a state which is not a member of the League, or between states not members of the League, the state or states not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations and membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles XII to XVI inclusive shall be applied, with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

2. Upon such invitation being given, the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

3. If a state so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the League, the pro-

visions of Article XVI shall be applicable as against the state taking such action.

4. If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

Article XVIII

REGISTRATION AND PUBLICATION OF TREATIES

1. Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

Article XIX

REVIEW OF TREATIES

1. The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

Article XX

ABROGATION OF INCONSISTENT OBLIGATIONS

1. The members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

2. In case any member of the League shall, before becoming a member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

Article XXI

ENGAGEMENTS THAT REMAIN VALID

1. Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

Article XXII

CONTROL OF COLONIES AND TERRITORIES

1. To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be

under the sovereignty of the states which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well being and development of such peoples' performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

2. The best method of giving practicable effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such people be intrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandataries on behalf of the League.

3. The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

4. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatary until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatary.

5. Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatary must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

6. There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatary, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatary as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

7. In every case of mandate the mandatary shall render the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to his charge.

8. The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the mandatary shall,

if not previously agreed upon by the members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

9. A permanent commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandataries, and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

Article XXIII

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

1. Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the League:

(a) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations;

(b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;

(c) will intrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;

(d) will intrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;

(e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communication and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the League. In this connection the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914–1918 shall be in mind;

(f) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

Article XXIV

INTERNATIONAL BUREAUS

1. There shall be placed under the direction of the League all International Bureaus already established by general treaties, if the parties to such treaties consent. All such International Bureaus and all Commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

2. In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaus or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and dis-

tribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

3. The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any Bureau or Commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

Article XXV

PROMOTION OF RED CROSS

1. The members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and cooperation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

Article XXVI

AMENDMENT

1. Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the members of the League whose representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the members of the League whose representatives compose the Assembly.

2. No such amendment shall bind any member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a member of the League.

ANNEX

I. Original members of the League of Nations, signatories of the treaty of peace:

United States of America
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
British Empire
  Canada
  Australia
  South Africa
  New Zealand
  India
China
Cuba
Czecho-Slovakia
Ecuador
France
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Hedjaz
Honduras
Italy
Japan
Liberia
Nicaragua
Panama
Peru
Poland
Portugal
Rumania
Serb-Croat and Slovene State
Siam
Uruguay

States invited to accede to the Covenant:

Argentine Republic
Chile
Colombia
Denmark
Netherlands
Norway

Paraguay
Persia
Salvador
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Venezuela

II. First Secretary-General of the League of Nations: Sir James Eric Drummond.

THE UNIVERSITY AND WORLD ORGANIZATION

PUBLISHED IN THE DAILY CALIFORNIAN, JANUARY 27, 1919

These are great days in which to be alive. Better than some others we have known.

The first steps have been taken toward a realization of the great principles which have bound millions of Allied soldiers together in a determined struggle. But these principles still remain as a challenge to those who have it within their power to translate ideals into action, still remain as principles merely, as yet unrealized.

With the disbanding of the armed millions we are conscious of another and far greater army, the great army of public opinion which is destined to rule the world. In that army the universities are the generals and we as students at the university are responsible for our generalship.

Our position is peculiar for several reasons. In the first place, opinions, political institutions, nations and races are in a state of flux. Governments which have ruled for years are being shattered and wrecked. Subject peoples find now

their first opportunity to assert themselves. Political organisms the world over are changing with a rapidity heretofore unknown. The England of to-day is not the England of 1913, and this is true also of France, Italy and, to a smaller extent, the United States.

Because the flood of political opinion is rolling high we have a good opportunity to accomplish a much needed international political organization. Internationally we are in a state of anarchy. The very term international law is a delusion and a snare. It is a rank misnomer. Law is a rule of action supported by a sanction, and there can be no law without such sanction. An international organization that could give us international law is as yet unborn.

In the second place, the position of the United States at the peace table is one of peculiar power. "We have no selfish ends to serve," and for that very reason, while others will be forced to make concessions to gain the territorial and other material advantages which they seek, we can stand firmly for the accomplishment of our high purpose.

Lastly, the position and responsibility of one so fortunate as to be a university student at this critical period in the world's history is peculiar. We have every facility for an advance with the first wave. The zero hour is at hand. We have the library. We have the daily papers. We must read what Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemen-

ceau, Orlando and Venizelos are saying. These men speak with the consciousness that they represent millions and that they hold the destinies of people in the palms of their hands. We can't afford to miss what Professor Henry Morse Stephens is saying in the "War Issues" course. We may find courses in the Political Science department where a leisure hour can be spent quite as profitably as before the fraternal hearth. This is not the place to drift with the current of opinion: it is the place from which the course of those currents should be directed.

There is no problem so important as that of political organization for the world. War represents a relapse of civilization to a state of barbarism and never can we reach that higher civilization with the necessary concomitants of better social and industrial conditions until we devise the machinery for the prevention of these periodic relapses.

We may be pardoned for believing that a perfected international government is a considerable distance in the future, but we can not be pardoned for being without thought on a problem so important. This for consideration: — peace follows justice; justice follows law; law follows political organization.

LETTER FROM A WOUNDED SOLDIER

To the Editor of The New York Times:

To those who oppose the proposed League of Nations, either because they are not in favor of the policies of our President (which would be very narrow minded of them), or because of some other reason, and who were unable to be in a battle, I address the following:

You who have never seen the horrors of war, who have never seen a man disappear, literally blown to atoms, on being struck by a shell; who have never heard the shrieks of wounded human beings, who have never heard the hysterical laughter of a man as he gazes at the stump where his hand was a moment ago, who have never heard the cries, the groans, the swearing, the praying of men with festering wounds, lying in a first aid station, waiting too long and in vain for ambulances; who have never witnessed the terror of those men when the station is gassed and there are no gas masks, who have never seen convalescents, totally blind and with both hands amputated above the wrists—can you say that we should stop at anything in order to prevent this

frightfulness, this savagery, this horror from occurring again? Is there any other way than by a League of Nations and combination of power? Will a simple treaty among the greater nations prevent a recurrence of such an attempt as Germany has made? Is not the League of Nations, as proposed, elastic enough and broad enough, whatever its defects, to insure world peace? Is it not a step, and the only possible step, in the right direction? I firmly believe so. If there is another way, speak it out. If not, for God's sake, stop opposing this one remedy.

WYMAN RICHARDSON,
(Wounded in action.)

Boston, March 18, 1919.

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